A NEW SYSTEM OF PATRIOT POLICY.

CONTAINING

The Genuine Recantation OF The *BRITISH CICERO.*

To which is added,

An ABSRACT of the RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF *Repreſentatives* and their *Conſtituents*, ON CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

Eſt Magna iſta & Notabilis Eloquentia, Alumna Licentiæ, *quam Stulti* Libertatem *vocabant*, Comes Seditionum, *Effrenati Populi Incitamentum, ſine Obſequio, ſine Servitute*, contumax, temeraria, arrogans, *quæ in bene Conſtitutis Civitatibus non Oritur*——

TACITI. ORATORES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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Advertiſement to the READER.

THE following Lines (ſo far as the Index *points) were found in the Cloſet of a certain Great Man, and are ſuppoſed to be written with his own Hand. But however that may be, they will ſerve to convey to the Reader, a perfect Idea of the preſent Political Principles.——The Work appearing to be left unfiniſhed, I have undertaken to continue it. —— In the firſt Place, I have recommended* Conſcience, *in Oppoſition to the iniquitous Principles in the preceding Part: In the next, I have, in an hiſtorical Way, repreſented a true Picture of a* Mock Patriot, *drawn from the Life. The Publication is intended as a Means to expoſe the* Impiety *of thoſe, who diſregard all religious and moral Obligations, and who abandon their Duty to God and their Country, for the Sake of Intereſt and Ambition.*

BRITISH
MUSEUM

A

NEW SYSTEM

OF

Patriot Policy, &c.

OUR *P——e M———r*, who ſitteſt on high, glorified be thy Name. May thy *A——n* laſt. Thy Will be accompliſhed in the *U——r H——e*, as it is in the *Lower*. Give us this Year our promiſed *Penſion*, and forgive Us our *paſt Oppoſition*, as we forgive them who *oppoſe us*. And tempt us not to turn *Patriots*, but deliver us from our Country: For thine is the Power and the Glory, *while thy Office continues*.

I im-

I Implicitly believe in the *Firſt L—d of the T——y*; *Determiner of Right and Wrong*; and in the *C——r of the E——r*; his Co-adjutor, who are *created* by the *R——l* Power, are *upheld* by a *Majority*, and, under all Reigns, have been hated, calumniated and diſtreſt; but in a ſhort Time have recovered their former Power, and have ſate at the right Hand of the *S—p—r*, from thence to judge both the *Yeas* and the *Nays*; I confide in their *Underſtanding*, and their *indiſputable Authority*, their Diſpoſal of *Offices*, the Innocence of *Bribery*, the Integrity of *Placemen*, and *Corruption* everlaſting.

O Mighty *S—tſm—n*, who, out of the Coffers of the Nation, haſt conferred Strength, and cauſed Beggars to glorify thee by their Riches, mortify all Remorſe in us, and ſo ſtrengthen us by thy Liberality, that by the Majority of our Voices, and Conſtancy of our Attachment, even unto Death, we may exalt thy mighty Name.

☞ *Thus far the unknown Author.*

THOUGH

THOUGH I have the Eloquence of *Men and of Angels*, and have not *Conſcience*, I am as a *ſounding Drum, or a noiſy Rattle*. And though I have the Gift of Prophecy, and underſtand all Myſteries of State, and have the Knowledge of all Affairs, and though I have all Influence, ſo that I can remove *Miniſters*, and have no *Conſcience*, I am *Nothing*. And though I beſtow all my Goods to *feed a Party*, and though I *wear out my Lungs* in their Service, and have not *Conſcience*, it profiteth me nothing. *Conſcience* ſuffereth long, and is kind; *Conſcience* envieth not; *Conſcience* vaunteth not itſelf, is not puffed up, doth not *behave itſelf unſeemly*; ſeeketh not for *Places*, is not eaſily *provoked*, rejoiceth not in *Confuſion*, but rejoiceth in *Unanimity*. *Conſcience* never faileth; but whether there be *Penſions*, they ſhall *fail*; whether there be *Tongues*, their *Silence ſhall be bought*; whether there be *Knowledge*, it ſhall be *proſtituted*. When I was a *Conſtituent*, I thought and I ſpake as a *Conſtituent*; but when I became a *Member*, I put away *Vulgar Notions*. For till then I ſaw through a Glaſs *darkly*, but now *Face to Face*. Then I knew *in Part*, but now *I know*, even alſo as *I am known*.

NOW

NOW it came to paſs, that when *Cæſar* was made King of the *White Iſland*, the Land was rent in Pieces by ſome of the Chiefs of the People, who were of a *rebellious ſtubborn Diſpoſition*; and he knew the Miſchief of their Hearts.

And he was *a good Prince*, and loved Juſtice and Truth, and he ſought with himſelf how to rule the Multitude in Peace.

And he ſaid to himſelf, Lo! I will erect a NEW-CASLTE within my Kingdoms, which ſhall be as a Tower of Safety to me and my Poſterity, and a Bulwark to my People.

And when he had raiſed up the *Caſtle*, he ſaw that it was good, and he rejoiced in its Strength.

But it proved an *Eye-ſore* to certain Great Men of the Land, and they communed together, how they ſhould level it with the Ground.

And they *deceived themſelves*, ſaying, "The "*Head* of the *Caſtle* is *weak*, and we may "throw it down with a mighty Fall."

And

And behold, when the *Chiefs of the People* were gathered together, there roſe a Mighty One in the Midſt of the Aſſembly.

His Eye-balls glared with Anger; his Looks were the Looks of Envy; the Poiſon of Aſps was under his Tongue; his Words mangled like a *Saw*; and his Voice, was like a Voice iſſuing from a *hollow* PIT. And thus he ſpake, ſaying——

" O ye *choſen Men!* Ye are a mighty People, and there is none other above you — No not the *K—g* himſelf. If you will hearken to my Voice, I will reveal unto you the ſtrange Things I have diſcovered.

I have liſted with mine Enemies for your Sakes; yea, for your Sakes, have I endured the *Scorn of the People.* And I have learned Matters which will ſtand you in good Stead, if you will give Ear unto my Counſel." —— Albeit mine Enemies, in the Deſpite of their Souls, ſay unto me *ſcoffing* — " *Thou knoweſt that we never put our Truſt in thee, ſeeing that thou wert unſound.*"

But they could not hide their Iniquities from my Sight, and their evil Doings were manifeſt to mine Eyes. I was Witneſs to their Counſels, and I made loud Complainings againſt them, becauſe *they would not put Power* into my Hands, and make me the Thing I liſted.

And it grieved me exceedingly, for that they fed a Multitude of *Foreign Hoſts* with the Bread of the *White Iſland*, while the Poor of the Land were ſent empty away.

And I can teſtify the Truth of theſe Doings, for that the Wealth of the Nation *paſſed thro' my Fingers*.

But when I complained of their bad Deeds, they made no Account of my Complaints, but *laughed me to Scorn*.

And in my Deſpite, they increaſed the Number of *Foreign Hoſts*; and they agreed with the Powers of *the North*, for 70,000 ſtrong of their People—Yea, 70,000 Mouths are open, to eat the Bread of your Labour.

And I waxed exceeding wroth at theſe Things, and I ſpake unto them, ſaying — "Ye do not care for the People of the *White Iſland*, but ye go a *Whoring after Foreign Folks*, and ye will ſtarve the People of the Land."

And they rebuked me, ſaying, "We take no Heed of thy Words, neither will we liſten to thy Counſel, *for that thou art known unto us*. Go thou therefore thy Ways, for *we do not need thy Service*.

And my Indignation roſe againſt them, and I ſaid unto them— "For that you have treated me deſpitefully, *and brought me to Shame*, I will make you hated among the People, and I will pull you down from your *high Places*.

But they mocked my Threatnings, and gloried in the Strength of *the Caſtle*.

And I ſaid unto myſelf, "Haply I have the Gift of Speech, and by the Force of mine *Eloquence*, I can move the Heart of Man: And when the *Heads of the People* are gathered together, I will riſe up in the Midſt of the Aſſembly.

And I will confeſs mine Errors before the People, and *I will unſay all that I have ſaid before*; I will repent me of my Defections, and I will appear before them with a contrite Heart: And I will ſeek to regain the Confidence of the People, that I may become a mighty Leader among them.

Hear therefore O ye powerful Ones of the Land, the Confeſſion which I am about to make.

I acknowledge that I have ſtrayed from the Paths of Righteouſneſs, and that I have thirſted for the Deſtruction of the Juſt.

Ye know well that the Buſineſs of the Land was formerly managed by a wiſe and upright Man, whoſe Name I need not mention unto you: His Heart was an honeſt Heart; his Foreſight was as the Foreſight of a Prophet; and his Penetration, was as the Penetration of an Eagle.

Nevertheleſs the Love of Miſchief beguiled my Soul, and I joined with hungry *Scare-crows* to *pick out his Eyes*.

But

But our Endeavours were vain, for he ſoared above us, and flew into a *bright Atmoſphere*, whither we could not purſue him.

Albeit though our evil Intentions ſucceeded not to our Wiſh, yet the Remembrance of my *ſubtile Deſigns* is as a *Dagger to my Soul*; and I never think on *that black Day*, on which I grieved *ſo great and good a Man*, without Anguiſh of Heart, and Contrition of Spirit.

Howbeit at that Time my Heart was hardened againſt Remorſe, and I ceaſed not to perſecute the *next juſt Man*, who laboured for the *Good* of the People.

Ye all know well that he was a Man without Guile, and none of the Great Men of the Earth—No not one, ſurpaſſed him in Wiſdom and Goodneſs.

Nevertheleſs I ſet myſelf againſt him, and I ſought to raiſe Murmurs among the People; and I taunted him with bitter Reproaches, and reviled him with foul Speeches.

And

And Lo! at that Time there lived a *Woman well ſtriken in Years*, and ſhe was a Lover of Contention, and Diſcord was the Delight of her Soul.

And ſhe ſaw that I was an Enemy to Peace, and a *virulent Oppoſer*, and my Proceedings ſeemed good in her Eyes.

And ſhe ſaid unto herſelf— "*This is a* "*Man after mine own Heart*, and it is meet "that I reward him."

And when ſhe departed this Life, ſhe left unto me a mighty Treaſure, *for that I ſtood againſt the Friends of the People*, and ſought to raiſe Diſſention in the Land.

And behold when ſhe was dead, *Ambition* tempted me, ſaying, "Thou haſt *gotten all that thou canſt* by thy froward Doings; leave thou therefore thoſe with whom thou wert united, who have put their Truſt in thee, and go over to thoſe whom thou haſt reviled— And they will give unto thee the *Thing that thou aſkeſt*, for that they know thou haſt a *perſuaſive Tongue*."

And

And *Satan* laid a Snare for me, and I was caught. And my Deſire of Power encreaſed, and I ſaid unto them— " If ye will make me one of the Chiefs among you, and ſuffer me to *pay the Armed Hoſts*, I will take your Parts before the People. And they did unto me even as I deſired.

Now it came to paſs, that when I ſpake in the Aſſembly of the People, one among them roſe up and rebuked me, ſaying— " *Thus* " *and thus haſt thou ſpoken formerly——Where-* " *fore now doſt thou contradict thyſelf?* "

And I was ſorely troubled, and brought to Confuſion, becauſe of his Speech; albeit I anſwered him, ſaying— " *My Countenance is* " *unembarraſſed.*"

And from that Time forth I cared not to open my Mouth in the Aſſembly; and when my Voice was needed, I *feigned myſelf lame*, that I might *remain dumb.*

Now the juſt Man, of whom I ſpake unto you, was called aſide, and gathered unto his Fathers: And when he departed this Life, his

his Power was divided among the Chiefs, and the Strength of the *Caſtle* was encreaſed thereby; but my Strength was not therefore encreaſed.

And I was diſcontented becauſe of theſe Things, and my Diſcontent opened mine Eyes, and I ſaw that they *were wrong*; and I was grieved to behold their iniquitous Doings.

Nevertheleſs for your Sakes I remained with them, and watched their Footſteps, until *they thruſt me out from among them.*

And behold now I have acknowledged unto you the Evil of my former Doings, and the Waverings of my Heart, and by my Confeſſion have made Atonement for my manifold Deſertions.

Nevertheleſs fear ye not to put your Confidence in me, for out of my Miſdoings have I reaped Good. I have learned the Leſſon of Wiſdom, and am become Proof againſt Temptations.

In the Days of my *Degeneracy* I ſaw the Ways of the Wicked, and I will deliver you from their Snares.

Now I ſay unto you, that ſince the Death of that juſt Man, they have ſought your Undoing; and the *Foreign Hoſts*, of whom I ſpake unto ye, have been multiplied exceedingly, ſo that they ſwarm like Locuſts upon the Face of the Earth: And they are a *hungry Race*, and they will devour the Fruits of the Land, ſo that ye ſhall *want Bread*, for that they have no Suſtenance in their own Country.

Now I will open unto ye the Deceit of thoſe who compaſs your Ruin, and I will ſhew unto ye the Subtlety of their fair Speeches.—Thus they ſay unto ye.

" Your Land is ſurrounded with great Wa-
" ters, and your mortal Enemies dwell on the
" other Side: Now they lay Wait for your
" Deſtruction, and ſeek to come over among
" ye, that they may cut you off with the
" Sword, and ſpoil you of your Habitations.

" And they harbour among them a *wander-*
" *ing Outcaſt*, who is a *Worſhipper of Images*,

" and

" and a Follower of fooliſh Fancies; and him
" they would make Lord over ye, to the End
" that ye may become as Slaves to their Power,
" and bow the Knee to the Nod of Superſti-
" tion: It is meet therefore that we entertain
" theſe *Foreign Folk*, to be as a *Bridle* to the Fu-
" ry of your Enemies, leſt they diſcharge their
" Rage in the Bowels of the *White Iſland*."

But be not deceived by thoſe who wiſh not well unto ye, but hearken unto my Voice, and I will reveal their Arts unto ye, and ſhew you your Good.

There is none other capable to ſerve you ſave I alone; and the Chiefs in Power, when compared to me, know not *their right Hands from their left*.

I can judge of Matters which paſs beyond Sea, even alſo as I can judge of thoſe Things which are done at Home: The Conſtitution of the Country is known unto me, and the *Rules and Orders* of this Aſſembly are at my *Fingers Ends*.

I have ſtudied theſe Things from my early Days, and am become perfect therein, ſo that

I never

I never blunder; and I have been *on all Sides*, and am acquainted with bad Doings of every Kind.

Now I ſay unto ye, that ye need not fear your Enemies on the other Side of the Water, nor yet the *wandering Outcaſt* who dwelleth among them. For your King is *a good King*, and *a wiſe King*, and he is loved of his People, and they ſhall uphold him.

And the People of the *White Iſland* are a numerous Hoſt, and the Multitude ſhall cover the Sea Shore, ſo that their Numbers ſhall be like the Sands of the Sea, and they ſhall not be counted: And they ſhall beat back their Foes with a mighty Loſs; and they ſhall ſtain the Sea with the Blood of their Enemies.

Again I ſay unto ye, that the *Northern Folk* live in a far diſtant Country, and cannot come near unto ye, to give you Succour in Time of Need.

And I ſay unto ye moreover, that if they make ready for Battle, and move on their Way to bring Aid unto you, that the *Enemies*

of Chriſt will fall upon their Backs, and make exceeding Havock among them.

Now for theſe Reaſons which I have made manifeſt unto you, theſe *Foreign Folk* are a uſeleſs People; and they are a heavy Burthen unto you; ſeeing that you pay them for the Thing which they cannot do.

But if you will hearken unto my Voice, I will ſhew you how theſe Things come to paſs — I ſay unto you, in Truth, they have not your Intereſt at Heart; neither do they conſult the Welfare of the Land.

For ye wot well that your Country is a rich Country, and aboundeth in Fields of Corn, and rich Paſture: And theſe *Northern People* are not called forth to ſecure unto you the good Things of your own Land, but they are gathered together for the Sake of a *far Country*, which yieldeth no Profit unto you.

Now the Chiefs among them dare not deal thus wickedly by you, if they were not upheld by the *Caſtle*; and they confide in its Strength.

I ſay

I ſay unto you therefore, that unleſs you unite together with a ſtrong Hand, to pull down the *Caſtle*, that it ſhall never go well with you, nor your Poſterity. For while the *Caſtle* abideth, it ſhall ſerve as a Shelter to your Enemies, and a Rampart to thoſe that wiſh Evil unto you.

But if you will follow my Counſel, I will lend you my Hand to pull it down to the Ground; to the End that we may rejoice in its Ruins. And I have a mighty Power to aid the Strength of mine Arm.

For behold there ſtandeth a TEMPLE in the *North*, and it is a rich *Temple*, and aboundeth in precious Things.

And *out of the Side of the Temple* have I *ſtrengthened mine own Houſe*; and with the *Riches of the Temple* will I make Head againſt the *Caſtle*.

I have likewiſe ſeveral *great Cities* at my Command. Now theſe Cities are called in the Outlandiſh Tongue—GRANS-VILLES.

And

And the Friends of theſe Cities, will ſhut their Gates againſt the Friends of the *Caſtle*, becauſe of my Diſgrace, and they will ſeek to revenge my Downfal; and they will not ſojourn with the Upholders of *the Caſtle*, becauſe that they have *thruſt me out from among them.*

But they will all follow my Fortune, and we will unite our Forces, and ſtand together with a ſtrong LEG.

For I have ſtout Men in all Quarters who will uphold me — Even from the TEMPLE to the TOWN'S-END.

Hear me therefore O ye choſen People! And let my Words ſink into your Hearts, that they may awake you to watch for your own Safety: Be not afraid to put your Confidence in me: For *my Fall* hath been ſanctified unto me, for my better Up-ſtanding.

Let me not be accurſed like the *Propheteſs of Troy*, that when I ſpeak Truth, no Man ſhall take Heed of my Words."

And

And when he had ſpoken thus, he ſate him down in the Aſſembly, and he rejoiced in his Heart, for that he fancied they would give Ear unto his fair Speeches.

And there roſe up a Man of Might among the People, who was well ſkilled in the Laws of the Land, and thus he anſwered him, ſaying,

" O thou falſe Man! Thou Teller of Untruths! how haſt thou dared to ſpeak thus before us? Wherefore haſt thou waſted the Time of the Aſſembly in evil Speeches againſt thoſe *who are above thee?*

It is many Years ſince that we have known thee, and we are aſſured that the *Truth is not in thee*, and thou deceiveſt thyſelf to think that we will put our Truſt in thee.

Thy Artifice is manifeſt unto us, and becauſe thou haſt ſought to impoſe upon us, we hold thee in Diſdain.

Be not proud of thy Parts, for thou miſtakeſt thy Merit, and that which thou haſt ſpoken is nought but *Vanity*.

Thy

Thy Tongue is *loud and petulant*, but thy Words are not *wiſe and diſcreet*; and the Gift of *Judgment* doth not dwell within thee.

Thy *Wit* is as the *Fumes of new Wine*, which cauſe the *Head to* ach, but do not make the *Heart glad*.

And thine *Eloquence*, of which thou vaunteſt, is not an *Eloquence* which pleaſeth—For it is even as a *Torrent of Mud*, which ruſheth from a *foul Channel*, and *beſpattereth the By-ſtander*.

Thou knoweſt how to *rail and cavil*, but thou can'ſt not argue like a *Man of Reaſon*: And out of thy *own Mouth* doſt thou ſtand *condemned*.

Why haſt thou attempted to miſlead the Aſſembly?

Thou ſayeſt—" That we need not fear our Enemies on the other Side of the Water, for that the King is loved of his People, and they ſhall uphold him.

True

True it is that the People love their *King*, and they have good Cauſe: And it is the only Truth that thou haſt ſpoken.

But becauſe that they love him, therefore they are afraid: For they are jealous of the *Honour of their King*, and it would be a Grief to their Souls, that a foreign Foe ſhould tread within his Kingdoms.

Thou haſt ſaid likewiſe—" That the People of the *White-Iſland* are a numereous Hoſt, and that they ſhall beat back their Foes with a mighty Loſs.

But verily I ſay unto thee, that it is not meet that we tarry until our Foes come within Reach of the Land, leſt we be overthrown and undone: For the Iſſue of War is uncertain, and the Battle is not always to the Strong.

It behoveth us therefore to entertain the *foreign Hoſts* on the other Side of the Water: And they ſhall be as a Terror to our Enemies, ſo that they ſhall not dare to depart

from their own Land, and ſeek to come among us.

Moreover thou ſayeſt " That the *Northern Folk* live afar off, and cannot come near us in Time of Need."

But thou talkeſt of a Thing in which thou art not ſkilled, and thou wotteſt not the Service for which they are intended: For we do not need them to come near unto us, ſeeing they are of Uſe to annoy our Enemies from afar, and be a Bridle to their evil Deſigns.

Thou haſt ſaid farther, " That if they move on their Way to bring us Aid, that the *Enemies of Chriſt* will fall upon them."

But I ſay unto thee, that the *Enemies of Chriſt* are not *Enemies to their own Intereſt*, and therefore in Time of Need they will not ſeek to hinder the *Northern People*, from doing even as they have covenanted with us.

Laſtly thou haſt ſaid, " That they are gathered together for the Sake of a *far Country*, which yieldeth no Profit unto us."

But

But wherefore haſt thou dared to utter theſe Words? Since thou knoweſt well that the Country has beſtowed a great Bleſſing upon us, ſeeing that it gave Birth unto *Cæſar* who ruleth over us: And for his Sake we are indebted to the Land, and bound to defend it with all our Might.

But they are not called forth for their Sakes alone, but for our Good alſo, ſeeing their Intereſt is our own: Since it is not meet and profitable for us to ſuffer our Enemies to wax ſtrong, by overwhelming our Friends.

But thou ſpeakeſt with an evil Tongue, and ſeekeſt Revenge by our Undoing. Wherefore elſe haſt thou counſelled us to pull down the *Caſtle*, in which conſiſteth our Strength, and the Good of the Land.

Know we not that thou wert one of the *Buttreſſes* of the *Caſtle?* And becauſe thou wert found *Rotten*, thou wert hewn away, and *two ſtrong Props* have been put in *thy Stead.*

Seek not therefore to deceive us, for thou art known in the Aſſembly, and thy Strength,

of which thou boaſteſt, will be vain. For the good Men of the Land ſhall unite againſt thee, and uphold the *Caſtle* for the Sake of the People.

And thou ſhalt ſquander the Riches of the *Temple* to waſte: And the *Temple* ſhall become weak and totter: For even thou haſt ſapped the Foundation thereof.

And *the Side* of the *Temple*, with which thou haſt ſtrengthened *thy own Houſe*, is fallen into a P I T—So alſo thy Friends who follow thee ſhall be ſwallowed up therein.

Having ſaid thus he took unto his Seat.

Now every Soul in the Aſſembly thought that *he who had firſt ſpoken*, would have been diſmayed, becauſe of the Speech which had been made againſt him.

But they deceived themſelves greatly, for he was not abaſhed: Neither is it in the Son of Man to cauſe him to be aſhamed.——For he roſe up again, and anſwered, ſaying,

" The Lawyer who even now hath ſpoken unto you is a *foul-mouthed Lawyer*, and is not knowing in the Matters of the Aſſembly."

For

For behold I have ſaid nothing unſeemly, ſeeing that *I have a Right to ſpeak my Mind freely:* And therefore will I utter the Thing which I liſt, for *I matter not whom I offend.*

He hath ſaid "That I have made evil Speeches againſt thoſe who are above me."

But he wotteth not the Thing of which he ſpeaketh: For Lo! I ſay unto you again, that while I dwell in the Aſſembly, there is none other above me, No—*not the K——g himſelf.*

Mark thou that, O Lawyer! And ſet it down——Thou, who ſhouldſt know the *Conſtitution of the Land.*

And he went on ſeeking to excuſe himſelf, that he might gain the Confidence of the Aſſembly. He repeated idle Matters, his Diſcourſe was void of Underſtanding, and his Words were nought but *Sound.*

But becauſe that *they knew him,* they would not hearken to his Voice.

Now

Now there aroſe one among the Chiefs, whoſe Name was REYNARD. And he was a knowing Man, and well ſkilled in the Buſineſs of the Nation; and had gained great Preferment in the Land.

And he ſorely rebuked the *frothy One* who had *firſt ſpoken*, and expoſed him before the Aſſembly as a *vain Prater*.

And he ſpake much in Favour of the *Northern Hoſts*, and ſhewed how meet they were for the Good of the *White Iſland*.

His Words were ſtrong and weighty, and the Matter of his Speech was ſolid and diſcreet.

And the Aſſembly liſtened to his Words, and were convinced of the Truth of that which he had ſpoken.

And they united with *one Voice*, and *ratified the Covenant*, which had been made with the *Northern Power*.

Now theſe are the Things which were done in the *White Iſland*.

A N

ABSTRACT

OF THE

RECIPROCAL DUTIES

O F

Repreſentatives and their *Conſtituents*,

O N

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES.

Eſt enim Ratio, Menſque ſapientis, ad jubendum, & ad deterrendum Idonea.

CICERO DE LEG. Lib. II.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

AN ABSTRACT OF THE RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF *Repreſentatives* and their *Conſtituents*, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the following Pages, I ſhall attempt briefly to examine how far the Members of the Britiſh Parliament *who repreſent the People*, are bound by Duties neceſſarily ariſing from the Nature of their important Truſt: What Qualifications are neceſſary for the Diſcharge of that Truſt: And how far the Publick have a Right on the Principles of *Law*, or from the Fundamentals of the *Conſtitution*, to take Cognizance of their Proceedings.

The better to elucidate my Meaning, it will be requiſite to make a ſhort Inquiry into the *Nature of Law*; which ought to be previouſly aſcertained, before we conſider its Operation.

If, in the Courſe of this *imperfect Sketch*, I ſhall advance any Sentiments which may appear ſingular, and contrary to Writers of eſtabliſhed Reputation, I intreat the Reader not to attribute them to any Affectation of Novelty, or the vain Pride of aiming to be original; ſince what I humbly offer, is not the Effect of a ſtudied Singularity, but the impulſive Conviction of my own Judgment. And I would be underſtood to urge my Arguments with that cautious Modeſty, becoming every Man who departs from received Opinions; and with that proper Deference and Reſpect due to thoſe eminent Authors, from whom I have preſumed to diſſent.

SECT. I.

THE Knowledge of Laws, which of all Sciences ought to be moſt perſpicuous, has been rendered moſt perplexed and obſcure.

This

This Confuſion and Obſcurity, may be attributed to the almoſt infinite Diviſions, into which it is ranged; whereof many appear to be Diſtinctions, without any Difference, and moſt of them unneceſſary Refinements.

I do not propoſe to conſider *Law* as a Profeſſion. But I mean to examine it on ſuch Principles as *Cicero* recommends, "*Non ex Prætoris Edictis neque a duodecim Tabulis, ſed penitus ex intima Philoſophia hauriendam Juris Diſciplinam puto.*

To trace it from this primary Source, we muſt conſider Man in his *original* State; that is, *a State of Nature.*

SECT. II.

BY a *State of Nature*, I mean that State in which Men ſubſiſted before they entered into Society, by making a Reſignation of their *natural Will* to the Direction of one or more to whom they agreed to ſubmit.

A Multitude, or *aggregate Body* aſſembled together, may in one Senſe be conſidered as

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A Multitude, or *aggregate Body* aſſembled together, may in one Senſe be conſidered as

a Society. But however numerous they may be, yet they cannot conſtitute ſuch a Society as is here intended, until they have reſigned their *natural Will.*

It is this Reſignation alone, which draws them out of a *State of Nature.* For, in a political Senſe, Society does not imply an Aſſociation of *Numbers*, but an *Union of Will.*

But ſuch Union does not neceſſarily imply an Union under the Direction of *Law.*

Men may reſign their *natural Will* two Ways. 1*ſt*, They may transfer it, by agreeing to ſubmit to ſome abſolute eſtabliſhed Power, authorized to govern with unlimited arbitrary Pleaſure.—In this Caſe, though they cannot be ſaid to remain in a *State of Nature*, yet they are not properly under the Protection of *Law.* 2*dly*, They may transfer it, by ſubmitting to the Government of One or more, who are empowered to rule the reſt, according to *ſtated Laws* eſtabliſhed by common Conſent, by which their *natural Will* is circumſcribed, and the Propriety of their Actions, with Reſpect to *Right and Wrong*, is determined.

It

It is this latter kind of Reſignation only, which entitles Men to the Protection of *Law*, and which alone properly conſtitutes a *Civil Society*.

It is an erroneous Opinion to ſuppoſe, that *Law* and *Government* are co-exiſtent. Since the firſt kind of *Government* was altogether *arbitrary*, and not reſtrained by any *Law* whatever.—Such was the Sovereignty which every Father exerciſed over all his Family, and which all Writers allow to be the firſt Form of Government.

SECT. III.

THIS leads me to remark the Impropriety of dividing Laws into *Native* and *Poſitive*; which Diviſion the moſt eminent Writers have eſtabliſhed.

Native Laws they ſub-divide into — The Law of *Nature*, and the Law of *Reaſon*.

The Law of *Nature*, is thus defined by *Cicero*, " *Læx Naturæ eſt Ratio ſumma inſita in Hominis Natura, Quæ Jubet ea Quæ faci-*

enda

enda ſunt prohibetque contraria" —— Or in the Language of Sir *Henry Finch* — "*The Law of Nature, is that ſovereign Reaſon fixed in Man's Nature, which miniſtereth common Principles of Good and Evil.*

The Law of *Reaſon* is, by the laſt-mentioned Author, defined to be—*That which deduceth Principles by Diſcourſe of ſound Reaſon.*

SECT. IV.

THESE are what he calls *Native* Laws, by whoſe Light, he ſays, the *Poſitive* Laws are framed.

But the Difference between theſe Sub-diviſions, if any really ſubſiſts, is ſo very accurate and minute, that it is ſcarce conceivable. It is introducing a *Primary and Secondary* Reaſon, which deſtroys what it endeavours to eſtabliſh.

The Definition of the Law of *Reaſon*, will appear imperfect on the ſlighteſt Examination.

The

The Law of *Reaſon*, ſays the Author, is —— "*That which deduceth Principles by Diſcourſe of ſound Reaſon.*"

Now Principles, *when deduced* by Diſcourſe of ſound Reaſon, may, from the Conſent of Mankind, take the Name and Force of a *Law*; but the Faculty *which deduceth* thoſe Principles, cannot with the leaſt Propriety be deemed a *Law*. This is confounding Cauſes with Effects, and attributing that Property to the Faculty creating, which only belongs to the Subject created.

To divide *Native* Laws into the Law of *Nature*, and the Law of *Reaſon*, is to make a ſubtle Diſtinction, inſtead of a juſt Separation. The Law of *Nature* (improperly ſo called) as *Hobbes* obſerves, can be nothing but *Reaſon*, that is, *natural Reaſon*.

But I am leſs anxious to refute theſe Subdiviſions, ſince I conceive the *primary* Diſtinction of Laws into *Native* and *Poſitive*, to be falſe and ill grounded.

SECT.

SECT. V.

IF we conſider Man in a State of *Nature*, as following the Propenſity of his *Will*, influenced by his unruly Paſſions, and making *that* the ſole Meaſure of his Actions, no one will affirm, that ſuch irregular ungoverned Will can be called a *Law*.

Again, if we view him under the Direction of *natural Reaſon*, framing his Conduct correſpondent with its Dictates, yet this *natural Reaſon* does not merit the Appellation of Law.

SECT. VI.

LAW implies Conſiſtency; its Determinations are always alike, in Caſes which are ſimilar. *Seneca*'s Definition of *Wiſdom* will be found equally juſt, when applied to *Law*: *Idem vult & idem nolit*. Man's *natural Reaſon* cannot pretend to this Rectitude and Conſtancy.

Man indeed, when no particular Paſſion is predominant, may, by the Aſſiſtance of his *natural Reaſon*, form right Concluſions, and act in Conformity to his Judgment. But at another

another Time, other concurring Paſſions may intervene, or the ſame Paſſion, by acting more forcibly upon his Mind, may produce a different Determination, and conſequently lead him into Error.

As *natural Reaſon* is mutable in one and the ſame Man, ſo it varies ſtill more in different Men: And conſequently a Diverſity of *Laws* would ſubſiſt, in the ſame Community, in Caſes exactly ſimilar, which would be attended with manifeſt Abſurdity.

Therefore Man's *natural Reaſon* cannot be called a *Law*. And whether we conſider him undirected by ſuch Reaſon, or, whether we examine him as judging and acting under its Influence, yet no Reſolution which he may form and execute, can be ſaid to be directed by *Law*.

SECT. VII.

WHEN the *Will of Nature*, guided by *natural Reaſon*, is limited by fixed and ſettled Rules, which are aſſented to by a Majority, who have declared the Concurrence of their Judgment in the Eſtabliſhment of ſuch

Rules, and agreed to abide by them as the conſtant Meaſure and Standard of their Actions on all future Occaſions, then, and not till then, it takes the Name and Force of a *Law*, and becomes a ſecondary or *artificial Reaſon*.

Law, is nothing more than an *artificial Reaſon*, which *expreſly* commands that which is *right* to be done, or prohibits that which is *wrong*.

But ſuch Law is not a *native*, but a *poſitive* Law; and that which is not *Poſitive*, is improperly called a *Law*.

No Precepts, or Prohibitions, no Deductions drawn, no Deciſions made by the fickle Aid of *natural Reaſon*, can be conſidered as *Laws*. (Whatever delegated Authority one or more may have received to enforce Obedience to them) until they become ſettled, and are made permanent by the Conſent of a Majority—For, till then, they are liable to be changed by the ſubſequent Determinations of one and the ſame Man: So that the Multitude have no fixed Rule

Rule of Action—Conſequently are not under the Direction of *Law*. To illuſtrate this more particularly,

SECT. VIII.

LET us awhile fix our Attention on the Government of *Turkey*, where the Will of the *Grand Seignior* is the ſole Meaſure of *Right and Wrong*, and by which alone he rules his Subjects.

The *Will of Man*, may be ſaid to be of two Kinds. The firſt, the Effect of inconſiderate Reſolution, or impetuous Paſſion: The ſecond, the Reſult of cool Deliberation, guided by *natural Reaſon*.

Now whether the deſpotic Mandates of the *Sultan*, are unhappily urged by the firſt, or fortunately directed by the latter, yet they are no more than the variable *Dictates* of human *Will*, liable to be changed the next Hour by any Alteration of Temper, any ſudden Paſſion, or capricious Fancy: And though from the baſe Conſent or Acquieſcence of ſubmiſſive Slavery, they may have gained the Operation and Prerogative of *Law*, yet they can

never claim the Title and Pre-eminence of *Law*.

This belongs only to thoſe Precepts or Prohibitions which are *poſitive*, and in ſome Reſpects immutable.

SECT. IX.

I AM aware of the following Objection which may be urged againſt me — That even *poſitive Laws* are of a mutable Nature, and do actually undergo various Alterations.

But there is this Difference between *poſitive* Laws, and *native* Laws, (improperly ſo called) that the latter are ſubject to be changed by the fluctuating Reſolutions of one or more Members of the whole Body, independant of the *Will* of the reſt. Whereas the former cannot be altered, but by the ſame *artificial Reaſon* which originally framed them — that is—by the ſolemn Act of all the Parties concerned in the Inſtitution of the *original Law*, or their *legal Repreſentatives* — Which is the Caſe with reſpect to the *Repeal* of our Acts of Parliament.

Such

Such *poſitive Law*, is a *certain* Standard of *Right and Wrong*, fixed by common Conſent, and unalterable but by ſuch common Conſent. What are called *native Laws*, can pretend to no ſuch Permanence and Duration.

SECT. X.

FROM hence I preſume to infer, that there are no other *Laws* than *poſitive* Laws; and that their Diviſion into *Poſitive and Native*—And the Sub-diviſion of *native* Laws, into the Law of *Nature*, and the Law of *Reaſon*, ſerve ouly to perplex the Subject, and to involve us in Intricacies, which miſlead the Imagination, and bewilder the Judgment. For nothing tends ſo much to confound Science, as to uſe too complicated Expreſſions.

The Diviſions of *poſitive* Laws are, no doubt, very numerous and extenſive; but it is not coincident with my Deſign, to enumerate ſuch Diſtinctions.

SECT. XI.

IF nothing can be ſaid to be a *Law*, but what, either by *poſitive* Command or Prohibition, directs Man's *natural Will*— It will follow,

follow, that, from the Multiplicity of human Concerns, various Inconveniences will ariſe, againſt which no Remedy is provided by *Law*.

Let us examine therefore how far Mankind ought to be governed by *implied* Precepts and Prohibitions, deducible by the Force of Man's *natural* Reaſon, from the poſitive Tenor of *compulſive* or prohibitory Laws, or from the Nature of the *original Compact*—that is—the *Conſtitution*.

SECT. XII.

WHEREVER Numbers aſſemble, whether their Meeting is for the Purpoſe of Recreation, or for public or private Utility, it is abſolutely neceſſary that they conſent to *certain* Regulations or *Laws*, for the Preſervation of that Order and Decorum, without which the Deſign of their Meeting would be fruitleſs and effete.

As every Member, in all Aſſemblies, is to be bound by ſuch eſtabliſhed Laws, it is requiſite that each ſhould, either *actually* or *virtually*, have a Share in their Eſtabliſhment.

It

It is fitting alſo, that their Execution ſhould be entruſted to a ſingle Perſon; for to lodge the *executive* Power in the Hands of many, would be to introduce that Diſorder and Confuſion, which thoſe Regulations or Laws were made to prevent: For where many have equal Right, each may interrupt the other.

We may obſerve, that even from the ſocial *Meetings of Feſtivity*, to the moſt *ſolemn Aſſemblies*, all have a Tendency to this kind of Model; all have their Rules and Orders, which are executed by one ſelected from the whole Body: And the *Chairman* or *Preſident* in *the former*, does not greatly differ from the *Speaker* or *Prolucutor* in *the latter*, as to the *Nature*, though there is an extreme Difference as to the Importance, of his Office.

SECT. XIII.

AS the End of any Meeting or Aſſembly is of more or leſs Conſequence, and the intended Operations more or leſs complicated and extended, ſo the Regulations or Laws by which the Members agree to be bound, for the more eaſy Conduct and Accompliſh-

compliſhment of ſuch End, ought to be adequately preciſe and determinate, and their Execution proportionably vigorous or remiſs.

But as it is impoſſible for ſuch Regulations or *Laws* to provide againſt all Contingencies which may occur, it neceſſarily follows, that many Duties, not expreſly commanded, are nevertheleſs to be enforced, as included within ſome general Precept, or, as requiſite to promote the general End, that is, the Benefit of Society; and that ſeveral Tranſgreſſions, not particularly prohibited, ſhould be puniſhable, as Breaches of a general Prohibition, or, as tending to defeat and deſtroy ſuch beneficial End.

Though the Cognizance of ſuch Caſes cannot be derived from any *expreſs Law*, yet it is granted by *Implication*; and paſſes as the *neceſſary Means* for the Completion of a *propoſed End*. *Qui dat ad Finem, dat ad Medium.*

The juſt Diſcharge of this implied Authority, ſolely depends on the free and *impartial* Exerciſe of Man's *natural Reaſon*. For in many Inſtances, Man's *natural Reaſon*, however mutable and imperfect, is ſtill the ſole

Judge

Judge and Arbitrator of *Right and Wrong*; ſince, from the Infinity of Caſes daily ariſing, it is impoſſible to comprize the whole within the Compaſs of *poſitive Laws*, or *artificial Reaſon*.

SECT. XIV.

IN many Caſes, therefore, Mankind cannot be ſaid to be governed by any eſtabliſhed *Law*. Since the Determination of no Man's *natural Reaſon*, however excellent and refined, can, with the leaſt Propriety, be deemed a *Law*. This is evident, from the Fluctuation of Opinions, and the Contrariety of Judgments in ſimilar Caſes, at different Periods of Time, in our Courts of Juſtice.

But though the Cognizance of ſuch Caſes, ariſing by Implication, muſt be *diſcretionary*, and guided only by Rules of *natural Reaſon*; and though the Judgments, pronounced in Conſequence of ſuch Authority, fall ſhort of the Nature and Perfection of *Law*, yet they ought to be equally binding and coercive.

It is as much a Part of the *original Compact*, to abide by Deciſions, made concerning Mat-

ters incidentally cognizable by reaſonable *Implication*, as to ſubmit to eſtabliſhed Laws—that is, to certain *poſitive* Precepts or Prohibitions——Provided, that ſuch Deciſions are not apparently and *wilfully* made in direct Breach of ſuch *original Compact*.

SECT. XV.

THIS *original Compact* was intended for *publick Benefit*; and whether Men have given up their *natural* Will *abſolutely*, without Reſtrictions—or whether they have transferred it *conditionally*, ſubject to preſcribed Covenants and Stipulations, yet, between the Parties receiving and the Parties transferring, this tacit Condition is *implied* on the Part of the former—That they ſhall govern for the Intereſt of thoſe who have reſigned their *natural* Prerogatives—For the fulfilling of this Condition they have a Right to all neceſſary Means, whether *expreſs* or *implied*—When this Condition appears to be *wilfully* broken, the Compact ceaſes, and Men are again in a *State of Nature*. While it is preſerved, Obedience is implied on the Part of the latter.

I ſay

I ſay *wilfully* broken—For unleſs the Breach appears to be manifeſtly *wilful*, the Compact in that Caſe is not diſſolved.

If it proceeds from Error of Judgment, and the Inability of human Apprehenſion, though it may be Cauſe of Complaint, yet it is no Ground for Change.

Where our Governors are *elective*, it depends on ourſelves, *previouſly* to examine their Skill and Capacity; where they are *hereditary*, we can only hope for a Bleſſing, which is not in our Power to procure—But in all Caſes we have a Right to demand their *Integrity*.

Acts appear to be done wilfully injurious, where they are executed, and their Operation continued, contrary to the Remonſtrance of the Community, who have declared againſt them, as contradictory to eſtabliſhed Covenants, or as productive of inſupportable Hardſhips.

SECT. XVI.

THIS leads me to the Examination of the *reciprocal* Duties of our *Repreſentatives*, and their *Conſtituents*.

But before I conſider the *Duties* of the former, I beg Leave to take ſome Notice of their requiſite Qualifications.

SECT. XVII.

A Good Underſtanding, and Honeſty of Heart, with a proper Degree of Elocution, to communicate their Thoughts publickly in the Aſſembly, ſeem to include all the Accompliſhments neceſſary for the Diſcharge of their important Truſt.

Of their Underſtanding, ſufficient Proofs will appear before the Age of Maturity, neceſſary to entitle them to a Seat, whereby the Choice of their Conſtituents may be directed.

Of their Elocution, according to the preſent Mode of Education, unhappily they cannot judge. And,

Of their Honeſty, they can receive no poſitive Evidence. For the human Head is ſo ſhaded with Diſſimulation, that it is impervious to the keeneſt Search, until Intereſt and Ambition conſpire to remove the Veil.

SECT.

SECT. XVIII.

AS to their *Duties* — being *Elective*, they are doubly bound to promote the Intereſt and Welfare of their *Conſtituents*: For the natural Ties of Juſtice and Humanity, are ſtrengthened by the additional Obligation of Gratitude, for the Honour conferred, and the Truſt repoſed in them.

In the Compact between the *Repreſentative* and the *Elector*, tho' there are no expreſs Covenants which *particularly* declare the Duties of the *former*, yet it is nevertheleſs *implied*, that they ſhall, *at all Times*, be vigilant and active, to preſerve and ſecure the Perſons and Properties of the *latter*.

From hence conſtant *Attendance in Parliament* is *implied*, as an indiſpenſible Obligation.

Whenever that auguſt Body aſſembles, the Concerns of their Meeting either regard the Perſons or Properties of the People, or both: And how can our Repreſentatives watch for the Security either of one or the other, when they are abſent from their Duty?

It

It is *implied* alſo, that they are not only themſelves to vote agreeable to the Dictates of their Reaſon and Conſcience, but aſſiduouſly and honeſtly are to endeavour to convince others, of the Rectitude of thoſe Meaſures, which they themſelves are ſatisfied to be conducive to public Good.

How can this be effected, if they are unable to convey their Sentiments, and communicate thoſe Reaſons to others, which have wrought Conviction in their own Breaſts? And yet it is as much their Duty to perſuade others to what they apprehend to be right, as to act rightly themſelves.

This proves Elocution to be a requiſite Qualification; as it is the only Means for contributing to the End of ſuch ſolemn Aſſemblies, where the Chiefs of the Nation are met to *debate* concerning public Good.

It is a Scandal to the preſent Times, that this Part of Education ſhould be ſo ſhamefully neglected. In Men of Rank and Fortune it cannot be too highly cultivated. For however

ever juſt the Objections may be to *Eloquence*, where Orators make a Practice of haranguing the giddy Multitude or rude Populace, yet they can have no Weight againſt urging Perſuaſion gracefully in the *Senate*, where every Member is ſuppoſed to have Judgment ſufficient to diſtinguiſh *Sound* from *Senſe*.

SECT. XIX.

FROM theſe important Duties to their Conſtituents, ariſe ſeveral *leſſer* Duties, which, though connected with thoſe they owe to their Conſtituents, yet ſeem more immediately to regard their manner of Behaviour towards each other.

As they aſſemble to *debate* concerning public Good — It is *implied*, that every Member ſhall be allowed the *full Freedom of Speech*, as it is the Life and Soul of Debate.

By natural Deduction from hence, it is conſequently *implied* (was it not expreſſed by *Senatorial* Order) that no one ſhould interrupt a Member while he is ſpeaking; for by ſuch Interruption, his Freedom of Speech is deſtroyed.

Each

Each Member therefore ſhould hear the other with complacent Patience, and mild Attention. There ſhould be no Attempt to confound Modeſty by *Uproar* and Audacity; no *Gladiatorial Exulations!* No *Amphitheatric* Shouts! Such unmannerly Vociferations ill ſuit the Dignity of their Characters, and the Awfulneſs of the Place.

As it is *implied*, that every Member ſhould ſpeak freely without Interruption, ſo it is in like manner *implied*, on the other hand, that no one ſhould preſume to exerciſe ſuch authorized Freedom of Speech, ſo as to convert it into an Abuſe, by wounding particular Perſons with injurious Reflections, or committing any general Offence againſt the Rules of Decency.

As every Man ought to be heard with Reſpect, ſo every one ſhould be anſwered with Candor. No Party Feuds, no private Animoſities, no *diſappointed Ambition*, ſhould urge any one to abuſe the public Sanction, by indulging private Reſentments, or gratifying ill-natured Malevolence.

All

All ſhould conſult for the public Welfare: It would be happy indeed, if all were equally willing, and qualified, to promote it; but — no Error in Speech or Sentiment, no ungraceful manner of Utterance, ſhould draw the contemptuous Sneer, or contumelious Sarcaſm of malicious *invective* Acrimony, glorifying in ſuperior Parts, and *Oratorial Excellence*. They are aſſembled, not to ſhew their *Wit*, but to diſplay their *Wiſdom*.

They ought to preſerve the moſt rigid Decorum, and ſcrupulous Decency. We are told, that the *Roman* Senators, ſeated in their Eburean Chairs, were taken for *Gods*: And without ſome Portion of their ſolemn Deportment and majeſtic Gravity, aſſembled Senators, will appear leſs than *Men*.

Not only their Behaviour, but even their Dreſs, claims a particular Regard. Let no Man think ſuch *Minutiæ* unworthy Notice; for the diſtinguiſhed Robes, which draw Reſpect from the Beholder, ſerve at the ſame Time to remind the Wearer of his Importance.

SECT. XX.

BUT as they owe much to the Public, the Public, on the other hand, is greatly indebted to them. And they, who are ſuppoſed to be above Intereſt, ſhould be paid with Honour.

Their Perſons therefore ſhould be reſpectable and ſacred. Beſides the Glory of being ſelected as Guardians of publick Welfare and Security, and the ſupreme God-like Pleaſure of being the Inſtrument of ſuch diffuſive Happineſs, certain honourable Privileges and Prerogatives ſhould (as they are) be annexed to their Characters.

They who, born to Eaſe and Affluence, voluntarily undertake to labour and exert their Talents in the Service of their Country, demand that tranſcendent Reſpect, which is due to their generous aſſiduous Virtue.

Their ſolemn Tranſactions therefore ought not to be liable to any Inſpection or Examination, but what is made with the utmoſt Deference, and in the moſt *ſtrict conſtitutional* manner.

This brings me to conſider the Duties of *Conſtituents*.

SECT.

SECT. XXI.

WHEREVER the ſupreme unlimited Power is lodged, whatever is enacted by Virtue of ſuch Power, cannot be ſubject to the Controul or Cognizance of any *Law*.

But tho' it is not ſubject to any *legal* or *judicial* Inſpection, in is not therefore *inſcrutable*.

No Power can be abſolutely transferred, but there will ſtill remain a *tacit* Reſervation of *natural Freedom*. And whenever the Exerciſe of this Freedom comes to be the *dernier Reſort*, there is an End of the Conſtitution, and *Anarchy* paves the Way for *approaching Revolution*.

SECT. XXII.

POlitical Liberty, conſiſts in the juſt Execution of the Power transferred, and the due Obedience of the Parties transferring.

On the faithful Diſcharge of the prior Engagement, depends the *Continuance* of the latter, or conſequential Duty.

I ſay *Continuance* — becauſe *implicit* Obedience is *immediately* due to every *Legiſlative* Act.

Men, however eminent, are ſubject to Error, and to miſtake their own and others Intereſt; but on the ſlighteſt Intimation of Inconvenience ariſing from ſuch Miſtake, Integrity will correct Incapacity, and anticipate Diſobedience.

But when it is evident, that they act *wilfully* in direct Breach of their Truſt, by proceeding and perſiſting in Oppoſition to the Remonſtrances of thoſe whom it is their Duty to ſerve, and who have declared themſelves aggrieved — then, however Power may enforce Obedience, Reaſon and Juſtice do not exact it.

The *Repeal* of the *Jew Act*, is a happy Memorial how nicely attentive *our Repreſentatives* are to the *Voice of the Public*. For the Remonſtrances of the People, though improperly, rudely and *unconſtitutionally* urged, prevailed upon them to annul an Act, which was by no Means inconſiderately concluded.

It cannot be denied, but that a Right is veſted in ſome Perſons to ſcrutinize into, and remonſtrate againſt, their Proceedings. Elſe, Where-

Wherefore are their Tranſactions daily laid before the Public? Why are their *Votes and Reſolutions* printed and publiſhed?

It remains therefore to conſider by whom, and in what manner, ſuch Scrutiny ſhould be made.

SECT. XXIII.

SUCH Authority no doubt can only veſt in their Conſtituents. But not in one, or a few.

They are elected by the Suffrages of a *Majority*; and conſequently no Individual or *Minority*, can claim an *excluſive* Right of examining into, or remonſtrating againſt, their Proceedings.

This evinces the *Illegality* of *inſolently* cenſuring their Acts in public *Papers and Pamphlets*. All Appeals from the Public to the Legiſlature, ſhould be by Way of Petition, not Reprehenſion.

Such unwarrantable Preſumption is no doubt a Breach of their *Privileges*, and an Infringement of the *Conſtitution*. And they

they certainly have an *implied* Authority of puniſhing the Authors, though their Writings ſhould not be ſtrictly *libellous* by any *Law*.

Let no Man think me ſo baſely abject, as to hint any Thing tending to deſtroy or abridge the *Liberty of the Preſs*. No! To an emancipated noble Soul, it is a Privilege dear as Life —— Dear, as that Life it poliſhes. But all *Liberty* has its proper Bounds, and when it tranſgreſſes the Line, the Tranſgreſſion annihilates its Nature; *Liberty* expires, and *Anarcry* riſes from its Aſhes.

SECT. XXIV.

THE *Liberty of the Preſs*, conſiſts in a Right of declaring our Sentiments freely and publickly on all *general* Subjects whatever. But the moſt important Objects of its Attention are, *Religion*, *Law*, and *Politicks*; thoſe grand Columns, which ſupport the noble Fabrick of all *civil* Superſtructures.

But with whatever Topicks it is converſant, it ſhould be exerciſed conſiſtent with the Rules of Morality, and the *Laws*, and *Nature* of the *Conſtitution*.

Now

Now it is againſt the Nature of our Conſtitution, and indeed of all Conſtitutions, for the Acts of the *ſupreme legiſlative* Body, to be ſubject to the Cenſure or Controul of any Individual or *Minority*, among thoſe from whom they have derived their Power.

The Senſe of Individuals is not the Senſe of the People; and Cognizance of their Proceedings can only, with Propriety and Legality, be veſted in a *Majority* of their *Conſtituents*.

Therefore let us examine by what Means ſuch a *Majority* may be aſcertained.

SECT. XXV.

IF any Act is paſſed, any Reſolution made, or any Matter tranſacted, which may be thought injurious or detrimental to public Welfare, in the Opinion of any Invidual, or Number of Conſtituents, it is incumbent on them to learn the Senſe of the reſt: For the Concurrence of the Majority, may not be involved in their particular Judgment.

The publick Opinion certainly cannot be known, but by public Application to the whole Body. Therefore,

To know whether they have the Sanction of a concurring Majority —— They may by Advertiſement, or other public Means, ſolicit a Meeting (or ſeveral if neceſſary) of their *Fellow Conſtituents*. When they are met together, they may deliberate on the Buſineſs propoſed, and unite in proper *conſtitutional* Meaſures of addreſſing their Repreſentatives— If the Majority ſhall determine, that ſuch Remonſtrance is neceſſary and expedient to be made.

A bare *Affirmative* or *Negative*, without aſſigning any Reaſon in Support of either, is ſufficient for this Purpoſe. For among ſuch Numbers there will be found many, who, though able to form right Judgments, are nevertheleſs incapable of ſtating the *Mediums*, by which they deduce their Concluſions.

SECT. XXVI.

THIS is the only Method of public Cognizance, which can be juſtified as *Conſtitutional*—— And this will remove all Difficulty of determining a *Majority*.

For

For when a Way is open for every one to ſignify his Diſapprobation, his Silence will amount to a Declaration of his Aſſent.

They, who through Ignorance or Indolence, remain unconcerned and unaffected by the Courſe of public Tranſactions, are no more to be regarded, than thoſe who remain *Neuter* in an *Election*. Their Neutrality is in neither Caſe any Impediment.

For in the latter Inſtance — whether it is owing to a ſupine Inactivity, or to conſcious Incapacity, or from whatever Cauſe it ariſes, it muſt be conſtrued as a blind Acquieſcence, in whatever Choice may happen to be made: And in the former — as an implicit Approbation of ſuch Meaſures as others ſhall think fit to purſue.

SECT. XXVII.

WHEN, by theſe Means, they have received the Sanction of a *Majority*—— ſome of the moſt able among them ſhould draw up their Remonſtrances, conſiſtent with that Deference and Reſpect due to Men of

 ſuperior

ſuperior Rank and Station, and that grateful Regard which they owe to *them*, who have entered into a voluntary Obligation for their Service.

SECT. XXVIII.

SOME *Pſeudo Patriot* Writers have attempted to leſſen this Reſpect and Subordination, by inſinuating, that the *delegated* Authority cannot be greater than the Power *delegating*.

But this Argument is ſophiſtical, and its Tendency is ſeditious. For where the Will and Power of the *whole Body* is transferred to, and included in, that of an Individual, or any *leſſer Number*, upon the *ſolemn Truſt* of their providing for the Safety and Advantage of the whole, and ſo abſolutely transferred, that they cannot revoke their Election. — Undoubtedly ſuch *delegated* Authority is greater in its Operation, and more reſpectable in its Nature, than the Power *delegating*: And the latter can by no Means weaken and deſtroy ſuch ſuperior Power and Pre-eminence, without *unhinging the Conſtitution*——In which Caſe, *ſuperior Numbers* may maintain a *ſhort-lived Aſcendency*,

cendency, till *ſuperior Wiſdom* ſhall oblige them to return to the *firſt Principles* of that Conſtitution they have dared to violate — or, force them to ſubmit to ſome *new modelled Syſtem* of Government.

The ſacred Confidence repoſed in our *Repreſentatives*, confers precelling Dignity; and the manner of repoſing it, is a Delegation of Tranſcendant, becauſe — a Transfer of *irrevocable* Power — that is, *irrevocable* by any *conſtitutional* Act of the Parties transferring.

SECT. XXIX.

WHATEVER Remonſtrances are made therefore, ought to be cautiouſly worded. Conſtituents may, in a proper reſpectful manner, expreſs their *Deſires*, but they have no Right to urge them as *authoritative Dictates*.

If this Method was once regularly practiſed, it would ſecure to every Man the Means, and the only *conſtitutional Means*, of exerciſing the Liberty he is allowed of taking Cognizance of public-Affairs.

But Innovations which ſeek to deſtroy an *uſurped Licentiouſneſs*, meet with ſtrenuous

Oppoſition, or at beſt with a reluctant Submiſſion.

It may be thought a ſevere, but it is a juſt Obſervation, that it is eaſier to entice Men to forſake *Right for Wrong*, than to perſuade them to abandon *Error for Truth*.

Cuſtom operates ſo ſtrong, that Men are often governed by *Abuſes*, more patiently than by wholeſome *Laws*.

SECT. XXX.

IT is a Maxim in Politicks, rather to permit the Continuance of *ſlight Abuſes*, than to riſk the Inconveniences attending a Change.

But the Lecntiouſneſs of Writers does not fall within this Predicament. It is out of a trifling Nature; for though its Progreſs may be ſlow, it inevitably endangers the Loſs of *Liberty*, and the Subverſion of the *Conſtitution*.

A Reſtriction on them will ſettle and enlarge the Power of the *Conſtituent*, and at the ſame Time preſerve that of the *Repreſentative*, from unbecoming and inſolent Scrutiny.

It

It will deſtroy no Privilege, it will diveſt no Right. It will only wreſt Uſurpation from Men, who make Learning a *venal* Traffick—For if you deprive them of their Licence of daring Abuſe and Scurrility, you rob them of the Fruits of their Labours, and the *Printer* will reap all the Harveſt.

Theſe, and others who *proſtitute* their *Parts*, as *Panders* to *turbulent Ambition* and ignoble Paſſions, will be the only Sufferers; and their Puniſhment is Juſtice to the Publick.

It will deprive them of a Power they have no Right to Exerciſe, and lodge it in proper Hands, whoſe Intereſt it is not to abuſe it.

SECT. XXXI.

BUT while the Preſs is ſuffered to uſurp ſuch an *unnatural* Authority, many are excluded from that Share in the public Concerns, which our glorious Conſtitution leaves them a Right to exerciſe.

The Gift of expreſſing themſelves in *Print*, is the Property only of a few; and in thoſe who

who enjoy it, a fluent Imagination often dictates to the current *Pen*, what the *Heart* knows to be falſe.

Thus dangerous Untruths, and malicious Suggeſtions, are frequently propagated: And they who, though qualified, have no particular End to anſwer from the Execution of their Talents, are for the moſt Part too indolent to contradict, what it is every Man's Duty to refute.

SECT. XXXII.

NEWS Papers and Pamphlets therefore, in their preſent State of Abuſe, are *unconſtitutional*, as they tend to inſult, but not to inform our *Repreſentatives*. It is often their View to miſlead and inflame, ſeldom to inſtruct and conciliate their *Fellow Citizens*.

No printed or public Applications ought to be otherwiſe permitted, than as they are employed by one or a few, as the Means of aſſembling their Fellow Conſtituents, in order to know the Senſe of the *Majority*. For when they violate the Conſtitution by unbecoming Expreſſions, or indecent Reflections,

on

on the *Legiſlative Body*, although the Offence may not be within the Cognizance of any *Law*, yet, as *unconſtitutional*, it is undoubtedly puniſhable at the Diſcretion of that ſupreme Power, whoſe Characters they have preſumed to inſult, and upon whoſe Authority they have dared to infringe.

SECT. XXXIII.

BUT if a *Senator of Britain* ſhould ſo far deſcend from his Dignity, as to ſtoop to the Rank of a *Pamphleteer*—If he ſhould be ſo ignorant, or unmindful, of his important Duty, as to anticipate the ſolemn Buſineſs of that auguſt Aſſembly, and make it the Subject of *popular* Debate and Clamour, *previous* to a *Senatorial Diſcuſſion*——If by Appeals *Out of the Senate*, he ſhould attempt to weaken *that Power he envies*, and which all the *Thunder of his Oratory* cannot ſhake *within*—If he ſhould attempt to miſrepreſent the *State of the Government*, or the *Perſons of our Governors*, by a *trite Allegory* of an *unſkilful Pilot's ſteering a Ship againſt dangerous Rocks*—*Rocks*, which are only to be found in the troubled *Sea* of his own *Ambition*, where the foaming Waves *ebbing* from the Shore of *Hope*, (which in vain they

they ſeek to recover) roll back with *diſappointed Rage*, and diſcover the *Shoals* in his Judgment——If, I ſay, any one ſhould ſo far forſake his Character, then every Man may freely exerciſe the Right of public Cenſure, as the natural Conſequence of public Appeal.

SECT. XXXIV.

WHILE our *Repreſentatives* act as *Senators*, while the *public Good*, which is the Meaſure of their Duty, is made the Object of their Care —— While their *Conſtituents* preſerve an obedient Subordination, and do not preſume to ſcrutinize into their Proceedings, or interfere with their Conduct, otherwiſe than by reſpectful and *conſtitutional* Means, *Liberty* will flouriſh, and *Felicity* tranſpire through the Land.

RECAPITULATION.

Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew, that there are no *Laws* but *poſitive Laws*; and that whatever is not *poſitive*, is improperly, and *abuſive*, called a *Law* —— That as it is impoſſible for *Laws* to provide againſt all Contingencies which may occur, that in many Caſes, we muſt be guided by the Rules of *natural*

natural Reaſon, and governed by *implied* diſcretionary Power.——That though no *expreſs* Covenants *particularly* direct the *ſeveral Duties* of Repreſentatives, yet, nevertheleſs, they are bound by *implied* Duties ariſing from the Nature of their *Truſt*, and the Frame of the Conſtitution —That though no Means are preſcribed by *Law*, whereby the *Conſtituents* may enquire concerning, or interfere with, the Execution of that *Truſt* that yet they are veſted with an *implied* Right of making ſuch Enquiry, and of interfering by Way of *Remonſtrance*.— And laſtly — That on the juſt Diſcharge of the *Repreſentative*'s Duty, and the proper *conſtitutional* Exertion of the *Conſtituent*'s Right, *Political Liberty* and *National Happineſs* depend.

CONCLUSION.

FROM what I have ſaid, the Reader may obſerve a Neceſſity of drawing the Line of Duty, between *Repreſentatives* and their *Conſtituents*.

I do not preſume to inſinuate that I have fixed its Termination: But I hope that my

Attempt may induce others better qualified to beſtow their Thoughts on a Subject of ſuch Importance, that, from their more happy Labours, its Boundary may be aſcertained.

While every Man claims a Right of interrupting the *Legiſlature*, by anticipating the Subject of their future Debates, or inſolently cenſuring their paſt Reſolutions, their Attention is unavoidably drawn from public Affairs, to private Concerns.

While their Thoughts ſhould be wholly occupied in ſecuring our Intereſt Abroad, and promoting our Proſperity at Home, they are often diverted from thoſe momentous Objects, and neceſſarily engaged in aſſerting their own Authority, by chaſtiſing the Abuſes of Liberty; whoſe licentious Encroachments endanger the Subverſion of the Conſtitution.

All Uſurpation of unwarrantable Power is deſtructive of *Liberty*: And wherever an undue Portion of ſuch Power preponderates, it is equally fatal.

It is not material whether it inclines on the Side of either of the three *Branches of the Legiſlature*,

Legiſlature, or of the Body of the *Populace*: For wherever the unequal Weight is lodged, it muſt bear down the Conſtitution.——

When that is ſunk, then indeed the Alteration ariſing in Conſequence of a Revolution, will depend on the Influence which either of thoſe contending Orders had in its Subverſion: For according as each prevailed, ſo either *abſolute Monarchy*, *Ariſtocracy*, *Democracy*, or a ſhort-lived *Anarchy*, will inevitably take Place.

The ingenious *Monteſquieu* obſerves, that *Political Liberty* is the direct End of the *Britiſh Conſtitution*. And is it not a Diſgrace to our Nation, that a Government, thus admirably conſtituted, ſhould be expoſed to ſuch repeated Shocks of Faction and Sedition?

As our Conſtitution is ſo happily modelled, the pernicious Quality, which ſo frequently ſhakes its Frame, muſt be lodged within ourſelves. And it needs no great Penetration to diſcover in what Order among us it reſides.

The *three legiſlative Branches* act in Concert together with happy Harmony: Their ſeve-

ral Provinces are regulated, and each is content to keep within the ſtrict Bounds of its eſtabliſhed Limits. There is no Contention among them, *collectively conſidered*, for undue Superiority.

Our Liberties appear to be in no Danger but from *popular* Licentiouſneſs. We deſperately tempt the Legiſlature to invade *our* Rights, in Order to ſecure *their own*.

Is it not ſtrange that an *Engliſhman*, who has irrevocably delegated his Share in the public Adminiſtration, to a Repreſentative of his own free Election, ſhould, notwithſtanding ſuch Delegation, aſſume a *ſeparate* Right of directing in publick Concerns — and in all the Wantonneſs of Pride and Indolence, iſſue his lordly Mandates, and publiſh his inſolent Cenſures? As if *Repreſentatives* were only choſen as baſe Inſtruments and ſervile Drudges, to execute the diſtracted Councils of a divided Multitude.

Would not a *Repreſentative*, in ſuch an unhappy Situation, have juſt Cauſe to exclaim with *Horace*?

Bellua

Bellua multorum es Capitum. Nam *Quid* ſequar, aut *Quem?*

We cannot conceive any Buſineſs in Agitation in which many will not be concerned, *ſeemingly* independant of the Community? And while every Individual is ſuffered to exclaim againſt Meaſures, which may either immediately or remotely relate to his own private Intereſt, ſuch Clamour will tend to perplex the *Legiſlature* in their Debates, and inſult them in their Operations.

This evinces the Neceſſity of confining all Reflections on Parliamentary Proceedings to the Cognizance of a *Majority*; whoſe Duty it is to diſcloſe their Sentiments by Way of *Remonſtrance* to their *Repreſentatives*. But—

As particular Circumſtances may occur, in which a *Minority* or *excluſive Body* only may be *immediately* intereſted. And as the Matters affecting their Intereſts may be of ſuch a private and abſtracted Nature, that they may be improper for the Conſideration of their *particular* Repreſentatives, as they might demand too great a Share of their Attention, in order to make themſelves Maſters of ſuch particular

particular Caſes, whereby their Thoughts may be withdrawn from Subjects of a more publick and important Nature. Therefore —

Whenever any ſuch Matters ariſe, our glorious Conſtitution has provided a particular Method of Application. Thus ——

If any *Minority*, that is, if any *excluſive Body or particular Trade* ſhall apprehend themſelves likely to be aggrieved by any Matter or Bill depending, and under Conſideration of the Legiſlature, they have a Right to offer a *Petition* againſt it; and they have the ſingular Priviledge of being heard by their *Council*, whoſe Profeſſion it is to apply their Minds to the abſtracted Concerns of Particulars.

Can human Reaſon conceive any Thing more wiſe? Can natural Juſtice contrive any Thing more equitable? Can conſtitutional Laws eſtabliſh any Thing more admirable, for the Preſervation of *political Liberty?* —

This ſerves to corroborate what I have advanced, and to prove the Illegality of *appealing*

ing to the Public, with Reſpect to legiſlative Buſineſs.

For it is evident that a legal Way is open for *all* to apply. Since, where the *Publick* is concerned, the *conſtitutional* Method is to addreſs the Parliament, by Means of *Remonſtrance* to their ſeveral *Repreſentatives*. But —

The *Public* being branched out into an infinite Number of different Orders and Claſſes of Men (who, tho' with Reſpect to each other they appear to have diſtinct Intereſts, yet with Regard to the Whole, are viſibly connected)—And it being impoſſible for their *particular* Repreſentatives to conſider the *Minutiæ* in each, and attend to all the complicated Niceties ariſing from ſuch a Variety of Concerns--A diſtinct Method therefore is wiſely preſcribed, of applying to *Parliament*, where the Intereſts of *ſuch particular Parties* may be diſcuſſed, and ſupported by Perſons who come properly prepared, and expreſsly inſtructed for that Purpoſe.

Thus every Man's Advantage is conſulted. Every one has an Opportunity of being heard.

Why

Why then ſhould we have Recourſe to the unnatural *unconſtitutional* Method of canvaſſing Parliamentary Concerns in *News Papers* and *Pamphlets*?—Thoſe *Effrenati Populi Incitamenta*.

In the Year 1646—"It was made an Or-" der of the Houſe of Commons, that no " private Petition to be directed to Parliament " be printed before the ſame be read in the " Houſe."—And there is the greateſt Reaſon and Juſtice imaginable in prohibiting all Animadverſions whatever, relative to *legiſlative* Conſideration, from being *printed* or otherwiſe diſcuſſed than by *conſtitutional* Application.

Wherefore ſhould we arrogantly preſume to dictate their Reſolutions? Why ſhould we dare to determine what is fitting, in Oppoſition to thoſe to whom we have reſigned our Right of Determination?

When we publiſh our Arguments from the *Preſs*, when, by *ſuch Means*, we enter into a previous Diſcuſſion of what is immediately under their Conſideration —We mock their Power, inſult their Perſons, and infringe the Conſtitution.

Our

Our Sentiments can only be urged in a *conſtitutional* Manner, when they are addreſſed by *Remonſtrance* to our *particular* Repreſentatives, or by *Petition* to the whole Body; and it remains with them to determine their Propriety.

Debate and Reſolution, are their Prerogatives. Remonſtrance and Petition, are the Rights of the Public.

I am warm againſt all *Abuſes of Liberty*, becauſe I adore the ineſtimable Bleſſing; and it requires no great Share of Sagacity to perceive that any Uſurpation of Power, from whatever Quarter it proceeds, muſt unavoidably endanger its Loſs.

The Licentiouſneſs of the *Plebeians*, in the Conteſt between *them* and the *Patricians* after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, proved the Loſs of *Roman* Liberty.

The *Decemvirs*, who were created to form a new Syſtem of Laws, and were inveſted with moſt abſolute Power for a Year, found Means to continue their Authority after the

Expiration of ſuch limited Time; and became the moſt arbitrary Tyrants. When the *Volſcians* and *Sabines* made War upon the *Romans*, the *Decemvirs* were obliged to aſſemble the *Senate*. But the *Senate* rather choſe to remain under *their* Oppreſſion than, by hazarding the Reſtoration of the *Tribunes*, make themſelves ſubject to the *Plebeians*, whom they abhorred: And had not *Appius*, in the Abſence of his Collegues, rendered the People deſperate by his brutal Luſt, which occaſioned the Sacrifice of *Virginia*, the *Romans* might have found it difficult, in Length of Time, to have ſuppreſſed their Authority.

From what happened after their Expulſion, it is evident, that the Apprehenſions of the *Senate* were not ill grounded; for they were no ſooner expelled, than the former Conteſts revived: And the *Plebeians* were not ſatisfied with exerciſing a concurrent Juriſdiction with the *Senators* and *Patricians*, but, by their *Leges Sacroſanctæ*, they uſurped an *excluſive* Right of making Laws by the Name of *Plebiſcita*, which they enacted in the *Comitia Tributa*.

Thus we ſee that Men leap from one Encroachment to another. When they have

once exceeded the due Limits of their Duty, they know not where to ſtop, but preſs forwards with blind and deſperate Fury. They who in the Beginning were only *inſolent Dictators*, prove in the End *tyrannical Oppreſſors*.

All Appeals to the Public from the *Preſs*, cenſuring *legiſlative Proceedings*, are calculated only to irritate the *Populace*, whoſe Tyranny, of all others, is moſt to be dreaded.

They always act from ſudden Paſſion. As they receive their Information from others, they are liable to be deceived by falſe Accounts, as they never judge for themſelves, they are ſubject to be deluded by the Sophiſtry of partial Reaſoning. Having no determinate Opinions of their own, they form their Notions from the Prejudices of others.

They embrace Phantoms for Realities. If you load *Slavery* with all the *Shackles of Servitude*—give it but the Name of *Liberty*, and they will fall proſtrate to receive the *Fetters*; though they riot in all the Wantonneſs of *Freedom*, tell them that their *Liberty* is in Danger, and they will fly they know not

where, to redreſs they know not what. When they have it in their Power to avenge *ſuppoſed Oppreſſions* — They are ſurprized to find, that they *do not know the Nature of their Wrongs.*

A *Name* is at any Time ſufficient either to irritate or compoſe them. The *Romans* conceived an Averſion againſt the *Name* of *Conſul*; and by their Factions obtained the Privilege of creating *three Tribunes with Conſular Authority*, promiſcuouſly out of the *Senate* and the *People:* But when they came to an Election, they choſe them all out of the *Patrician* Order.

Upon this ſingular Event *Livy* has the following Remark. *Eventus eorum Comitiorum docuit alios Animos in Contentione Libertatis Dignitatiſque, alios ſecundum depoſita certamina incorrupto Judicio eſſe. Tribunos enim omnes Patricios creavit Populus, Contentus eo, quod Ratio habita Plebejorum eſſet. Hanc* Modeſtiam Æquitatemque et altitudinem Animi *ubi nunc in* uno *inveneris, quæ tunc* Populi Univerſis fuit?

But with Deference to *Livy*, there is no Appearance of any ſuch *Modeſty*, *Equity*, and *Magna-*

Magnanimity, in this *Plebeian* Election. *Livy* does not ſeem to make a proper Diſtinction between refuſing to *accept*, and refuſing to *appoint*. Had it appeared, that they had fixed upon any out of their Body, and that the *Plebeians* ſo ſelected, had, from a Conſciouſneſs of their Incapacity, refuſed the Dignity offered, ſuch Refuſal indeed might be juſtly attributed to a Greatneſs of Soul. But as none were appointed, conſequently none could be intitled to the ſingular Merit of *modeſt ſelf-denying Virtue*, which does not bluſh to own its Imperfections. Therefore we cannot refer their Election to this noble Principle: For though perhaps from Envy, Jealouſy, or other Motive, no one thought the other fit to be elected, yet each may have deemed *himſelf* qualified for that high Employment: And ſo far from being a Proof of an exalted Nobleneſs of Mind, it is rather a Teſtimony of a reſtleſs turbulent Diſpoſition, prone to Innovations, and ſway'd by the weak Ambition of coveting the *Reputation* of a Power; which, as it appeared from their Election, each thought the other unworthy to exerciſe.

However diſcreet *Particulars* may be among a Multitude, yet, *in a Body*, they are never directed

directed by Reaſon. Therefore all Invaſions of *Liberty* are firſt attempted by artful *Appeals to the Populace*, under Pretence of being jealous of their Rights. They are eaſily inflamed, and wrought upon to work their own Deſtruction. Their Succeſs is ſure to be their Ruin, and they are enſlaved by Victories, purchaſed with their own Blood. *Anarchy* for a Time is commonly the Fruit of their Conqueſts, till one or more *Tyrants* ariſe and lord it over the reſt.

If *England* has been particularly ſubject to Revolutions, they have been in a great Meaſure owing to *incentive Appeals* from the *Preſs*.

If we apply to *Parliament* by proper Methods, they will not—nay, they cannot, without *openly* diſavowing their Attention to public Benefit, fail of paying a due Regard to our Applications. But we loſe the End, by uſing unjuſtifiable Means to attain it; for when Appeals are diſperſed from all Sides in an illegal *unconſtitutional* manner, however juſt they may be as to the *Matter* they contain, yet, from the *manner* of preferring them, we forfeit all Title to Relief. They only ſerve to incenſe the

the *Legiſlature*, and render them deaf to our Intereſts.

However, as *Legiſlators*, they ought to be diveſted of unruly Paſſions; yet, as *Men*, we may be allowed to ſay, that they are ſubject to their Influence. Were our Repreſentatives *collectively* leſs virtuous, ſuch repeated Inſults on their Authority, might diſpoſe them to an Attempt of depriving us of that Liberty, which we ſo wantonly abuſe; and of which, at ſome diſtant Period of Time, we may compell them to diſpoſſeſs us.

But I will be bold to ſay, that the Root of popular Diſſention is to be found in their own Body. Contention within, creates Commotion without Doors. The *Diſconcerted* themſelves, or their *ready Agents*, ſow the factious Seeds of Sedition among the *People*, who are made the blind Inſtruments of vile Ambition. — But here let me ſtop — Leſt my intemperate Warmth againſt *unworthy Individuals*, ſhould be conſtrued as Diſreſpect to the *collective Body*.

I will

I will only add, that I have wrote from the unbiaſſed Dictates of my Conſcience; and that however I may have riſked my Reputation as an *Author*, I am conſcious that I do not merit Cenſure as a *Man*: Neither do I fear its Laſh — For I am as much above the Reach of the Malignant, as they are beneath my Regard.

FINIS.

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F I N I S.

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